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ABSTRACT

This case study of the battle over public school education in Lowell (Massachusetts) chronicles the process of change taking place there, partly as a result of the emerging role of Southeast Asian parents who, in coalition with Latino parents, are demanding educational access and equity for their children. The following sections are included: (1) "Introduction"; (2) "A Brief History of Lowell"; (3) "Demographic Change and New Waves of Immigrants"; (4) "Access and Equity in the Schools"; (5) "Parents Organizing"; (6) "English-Only Exclusion and Violence"; (7) "Political Representation and Political Power"; (8) "Education and Empowerment"; and (9) "Schools, Southeast Asians, and the Future of Lowell." The case study illustrates how community organizing and coalition building around a specific issue have led to the demand for political representation and empowerment as the means to deal with the challenge of the changing demographics facing the city. A lesson that can be learned from the experiences of the people of Lowell concerns the role played by parents in securing educational equity for their children; this monograph presents a clear account of parents of bilingual students functioning collectively as part of the solution to the educational difficulties faced by their children. A list of 22 references is included. (JS)

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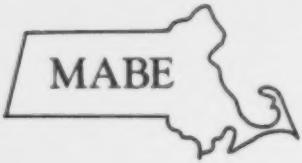

MONOGRAPH #1

SOUTHEAST ASIAN PARENT EMPOWERMENT:

The Challenge of Changing Demographics in Lowell, Massachusetts

by
Peter Nien-chu Kiang

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1990

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PREFACE

With the publication of Southeast Asian Parent Empowerment: The Challenge of Changing Demographics in Lowell, Massachusetts, the Massachusetts Association for Bilingual Education has initiated the first in a series of yearly monographs on issues related to linguistic minority education. MABE decided to establish the monograph series in order to stimulate research on these issues and to increase the expertise of educators who provide services to the growing numbers of students from linguistic minority communities. MABE chose to publish Peter Kiang's research from a number of excellent manuscripts submitted because it tells an inspiring story with lessons which will be increasingly significant for educators to bear in mind as the demographics of our student population continue to change so dramatically.

One lesson that we can learn from the battle over schooling in Lowell, documented here, is a reminder of the vital role played by parents in securing educational equity for their children. The voices of Southeast Asian and Hispanic parents which are recorded in this monograph are eloquent testimony to the intelligence and dedication of parents of bilingual students. This monograph presents a clear account of parents functioning collectively as part of the solution to the educational difficulties faced by their children. This advocacy role is one which other immigrant parents and communities have often played before. Indeed, the court rulings and legislation which currently protect the educational rights of linguistic minority children -- to which many teachers and administrators owe their jobs -- have been achieved in response to struggles waged by parents fighting for their children's future.

There are other lessons, too, to be learned from this case study of Lowell. One is the ability of parents and communities to transcend the barriers of language, culture, and very different histories in order to unite in the interests of their children. While Southeast Asian and

Hispanic disputes often make headlines in local newspapers, rarely have the instances of unity, such as this one, been publicized. Another lesson raised by this case is that educational issues must be viewed in a wider political context. The monograph clearly illustrates how the dramatic demographic shifts in the city of Lowell triggered serious political conflicts, but that the battles were fought in the arena of education. The English Only referendum, which was intended to eliminate the native language component of bilingual education in the city's schools, was a response to the growing possibility of political empowerment of the Asian and Hispanic communities. As professional educators, we naturally tend to look at the services provided to linguistic minority students in essentially educational terms. This monograph suggests that such a narrow view is naive at best. It is useful to remember the intensely political terms in which the broader society views the education of our linguistic minority students.

The lessons which we can draw from the Lowell case are particularly significant because of the demographic changes occurring throughout the nation. Lowell's political and educational conflicts erupted as the ethnic and racial makeup of the city underwent rapid and drastic demographic change, according to this research. U.S. schools are undergoing significant demographic change. According to current estimates, in just ten years, one out of three students in public schools will be a child of color. Forward-thinking educators have begun to consider the educational ramifications of these changes. This monograph suggests the necessity that we prepare ourselves to consider the political implications as well.

Virginia Vogel Zanger
MABE Monograph Committee

Southeast Asian Parent Empowerment:

The Challenge of Changing Demographics

in Lowell, Massachusetts

by Peter Nien-chu Kiang

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Introduction

Lowell, Massachusetts, a city famous in U.S. immigrant and labor history, is in the midst of a dynamic and inevitable, yet at times violent and bitter process of transformation as it confronts the challenge of changing demographics. Like other cities such as Monterey Park, California[1] which have undergone dramatic demographic change during the 1970s and 1980s, the rapid growth of Asian and Latino communities in Lowell has tested each of the city's institutions including the hospitals, police, courts, and especially the public school system. Rapid demographic change is also redefining the popular conception of who is an "American". At the same time, a climate of anti-immigrant resentment has developed in Lowell as reflected in incidents of racial violence and the advocacy of "English-Only" policies by individuals and groups within the city.

This preliminary report analyzes the process of change taking place in Lowell through the issue of public school education and the emerging role of Southeast Asian parents who, in coalition with Latino parents, are demanding educational access and equity for their children. The Lowell case-study illustrates how community organizing and coalition-building around a specific issue have led to the demand for political representation and empowerment as the means to resolve the challenge of changing demographics facing the city.

A Brief History of Lowell

The town of Lowell was established in 1826 in the context of America's industrial revolution. Seeking to expand their economic base, Boston-based gentry purchased land alongside the Merrimack River and built a chain of textile mills with an elaborate canal-lock system that powered looms with energy generated by the river's current. As Lowell emerged as the country's textile center teenage girls were recruited from the area's surrounding farms to work in the mills. Paid at half the male wage, yet earning more than they would from farmwork, the mill girls lived in dormitory-style housing constructed next to the factories. Harsh working and living conditions, however, led to some of the country's first examples of labor organizing -- including mill girl strikes in 1834 and 1836, formation of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association in 1844 and a petition to the Massachusetts Legislature for a 10-hour workday in 1845.[2]

As successive waves of European immigrants entered the country throughout the 1800's and early 1900's, cheap immigrant labor entered the booming textile industry and replaced the mill girls in Lowell. The mill girls' dormitories evolved into overcrowded tenement housing for successive waves of Irish, French Canadian, Greek, Polish, and Portuguese new immigrants. As the textile industry reached its height in the 1890's, Lowell became widely recognized as a city built by immigrants. Labor organizing also continued in the city as the Yiddish-speaking Lowell Workingmen's Circle formed in 1900 and Greek immigrants led a city-wide strike in 1903 which set the stage for the well-known Bread and Roses strike of 1912 in the neighboring mill town of Lawrence.

But by the 1920's, the textile industry in Lowell entered a long period of depression and economic decline. By 1945, eight of the city's eleven big mills had closed and unemployment skyrocketed. Foreshadowing the decline of many midwestern industrial cities during the 1970s, Lowell and other textile mill towns in the area all but died during this period.

In the 1970's, however, a combination of factors, including the emergence of new industries fueled by high technology research at Massachusetts-based universities and the political muscle of the Massachusetts congressional delegation -- which included Speaker of the House "Tip" O'Neil and Sen. Edward Kennedy as well as Sen. Paul Tsongas who was born and raised in Lowell -- led to a turn-around in the state's economic condition. A combination of federal dollars and corporate investment revitalized Lowell's economy, enabling the city to move from 13.8% unemployment in 1978 to 7% in 1982 to less than 3% in 1987. The run-down mill factories were rehabilitated. The city's vacant industrial land area dropped from 100 acres in 1978 to zero in 1987.[3]

Central to the economic revitalization of Lowell was the decision of An Wang, a Chinese immigrant and Chairman of Wang Laboratories, Inc., to relocate the company to Lowell in 1976. Wang purchased cheap industrial land, and with the added incentive of $5 million in federal grants, built new electronics assembly plants and corporate office towers. The timing of the move coincided with Wang's take-off as a company. Corporate sales rose from $97 million in 1977 to $2.88 billion in 1986. As the largest employer in Lowell, Wang's payroll in 1986 accounted for $114 million. Furthermore, the company purchased $25 million worth of goods from local vendors and paid more than $3 million in local taxes[4] -- infusing the city with a strong economic base.[5]

By the mid-1980's, Lowell was cited as the "model city" of the "Massachusetts Miracle" -- a city whose legacy included leading America's industrial revolution, becoming home to successive waves of ethnic immigrant groups, and overcoming industrial decline to reemerge as a leading center of the country's technological revolution.

Demographic Change and New Waves of Immigrants

> People in Lowell talk about it being an ethnic city, but they only embrace that and endorse that as long as they are white.
>
> -- June Gonsalves
> Lowell Human Rights Commission
> Planning Committee[6]

Beginning in the late 1950's as part of large-scale Puerto Rican migrations throughout the Northeast industrial states, a small number of Puerto Ricans settled in Lowell. In the late 1960's, a large group of Puerto Rican workers based at garment factories in New Jersey were transferred to Lowell. Through the 1970's, Puerto Ricans and growing numbers of Dominicans developed a stable Latino community. By 1987, the Latino community had reached 15,000 or 15% of the city. In neighboring Lawrence, Massachusetts, the Latino community swelled to 30% of the city's population--reflecting significant demographic changes throughout the Merrimack Valley area.

The most dramatic growth in Lowell, however, has resulted from Southeast Asian refugee resettlement and secondary migration. In 1980, less than 100 Southeast Asians lived in Lowell. Only a decade later, there are approximately 3,000 Lao, 1,000 Vietnamese, and close to 25,000 Cambodians. Lowell has become home to the largest Cambodian community on the East Coast and boasts the second largest per capita concentration of Southeast Asians in the United States after Long Beach, California.

The majority of Southeast Asians in Lowell are secondary migrants -- having moved there from other states in the U.S. rather than coming directly from refugee camps in Southeast Asia. Many settled in Lowell because of the city's well-publicized economic health and availability of jobs. Others came because family members or friends were already established there. Still others came, simply because they heard that Cambodians were living in Lowell -- a

self-reinforcing process that took on a life of its own through formal and informal networks of Cambodians throughout the country. Wherever there are Cambodians in the U.S., they have heard of Lowell.

As the numbers of Latinos and Southeast Asians expanded rapidly during the 1980's, the city found itself unprepared to address the multiple issues of housing, bilingual services, culture shock, and civil rights confronting new immigrants. Furthermore, Lowell's economic rejuvenation had failed to refurbish the city's 19th Century housing stock and public school facilities, particularly in neighborhoods such as the Acre where large numbers of Latinos and Southeast Asians had settled. Schooling and educational issues thus emerged as primary concerns for Lowell's new immigrant communities.

Access and Equity in the Schools

> They don't want our minority children mixing with their white children ... they are not thinking of the education of all kids, only of their kids. We want to make sure our kids get equal opportunity.
>
> -- Alex Huertas, (PUEDO)
> Parents United in Education and the Development of Others[7]

Lowell has the sixth largest Hispanic student population and second largest number of Asian students in Massachusetts. In 1975, only 4% of Lowell's school children were minorities. By 1987, however, minorities made up 40% of the school-age population -- half of them being limited-English proficient. As Southeast Asians continued to migrate to Lowell throughout 1987, as many as 35-50 new Southeast Asian students arrived and enrolled in school each week. Strains on the public school system quickly reached crisis proportions.

In response to the influx, the Lowell School Committee established makeshift classrooms in non-school facilities such as the Lowell Boys Club and Lowell YMCA. This process effectively segregated 170 Southeast Asian and Latino elementary age school children in buildings which lacked library and cafeteria facilities as well as principals and supervisory staff on site. Overcrowded makeshift classrooms accommodated students who ranged from grades one to six. Partitions separated bilingual classes in Spanish, Lao, and Khmer. Special compensatory education classes were held in hallways where it was quieter. Spaces within existing school buildings such as the basement boiler room and an auditorium storage area of the Robinson School were also converted into classrooms. A Lao bilingual class in the Daley School was even conducted in a converted bathroom which still had a toilet stall in it.

After three months of segregation in separate, unequal facilities, minority school children and their parents began to take action. The Latino parents had already seen the educational system take its toll on their children. While the Latino high school population had doubled from 200 to 400 between 1982 and 1987, the number of those who successfully graduated had dropped from 76 to 55. Southeast Asian students had fared no better. Over half of the Lao students who entered Lowell High School in 1986-87 had dropped out by the end of the year. For the Southeast Asian parents who had sacrificed and endured unspeakable hardships in order to provide their children with a chance for education and a better future, the conditions facing their children in school had become intolerable.

Parents Organizing

> When they say 'Americans', they don't mean us--look at our eyes and our skin. We are minorities, but we have rights too. We need to support each other.
>
> -- Sommanee Bounphasaysonh
> Laotian Association of
> Greater Lowell[8]

For the next eighteen months from May 1987 through November 1988, Latino and Southeast Asian parents led efforts to demand equal access and equity for their children in the Lowell public schools. With organizing and technical assistance from Multicultural Education Training and Advocacy (META) Inc., and a statewide bilingual parents network, Parents United in Education and the Development of Others (PUEDO), the parents convened joint meetings in four languages between the Hispanic Parents Advisory Committee (HPAC), the Cambodian Mutual Assistance Association of Greater Lowell and the Laotian Association of Greater Lowell to develop tactics and strategy. Eventually, a coalition of those organizations established the Minority Association for Mutual Assistance, affectionately known as MAMA.

The parents employed a range of tactics which included grass-roots canvassing and petition drives combined with outreach to churches and other groups such as Big Brothers/Big Sisters in Lowell. When the Lowell School Committee failed to act, the parents organized press conferences and mass community meetings with state education officials to press their case forward. Eventually, the parents and students filed a lawsuit in federal district court against the Lowell School Committee and the City of Lowell on the basis of unconstitutional segregation of the Lowell Public Schools and denial of equal educational opportunities to students of limited English proficiency in violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the Equal Educational Opportunities Act of 1974.[9]

In the process, the parents developed a comprehensive 33-point program of educational reform directed not only at desegregation and upgrading of facilities, but which also targeted issues of personnel hiring and training, curriculum reform, drop-out prevention, special education program development, and parent involvement. Furthermore, they demanded compensation and remediation for educational harms incurred by linguistic minority students placed in inappropriate classroom settings between 1984 and 1987.[10] On November 9, 1988, after eighteen months of organizing and negotiations, the parents won their demands in an

historic out-of-court settlement approved in a 6-1 vote by the Lowell School Committee.[11] The settlement represented an unqualified victory for the Latino and Southeast Asian parents and children in Lowell, and set a precedent for educational reform in the interests of linguistic minority students everywhere.

English-Only Exclusion and Violence

> English is our mother tongue and it's the language that's going to be used at our meetings. This is an English-Only School Committee in an English-Only America.
>
> -- George D. Kouloheras
> Lowell School Committee[12]

The success of the parents had not come without a price, however. Through the course of advocating for their children's educational rights, the Latino and Southeast Asian communities confronted a reality of disenfranchisement within the city's political institutions and a climate of anti-immigrant resentment and racial intolerance.

At a School Committee meeting on May 6, 1987 when 100 Latino, Lao, and Cambodian parents first came to voice their concerns about their children being segregated in unequal facilities, they requested that the meeting be translated to allow them to participate. School Committee member George Kouloheras responded that this is an English-Only meeting, and went on to castigate the Latino parents as "those bastards who speak Spanish".[13]

While anti-minority and anti-immigrant incidents, including racial harassment, tire slashings, broken windows, job and housing discrimination were not uncommon in the city, little attention had been paid to minority concerns amidst the Dukakis campaign's national promotion of Lowell as the model city of the "Massachusetts Miracle".[14] Once

Kouloheras took the offensive from his position as a School Committee member, however, public attention toward Latinos and Southeast Asians shifted from neglect and resentment to accusation and attack.

In June 1987, under pressure from the parents and threatened with funding cuts by the state, the Lowell School Committee adopted a desegregation plan which Kouloheras and other white residents vehemently opposed because it required mandatory busing to integrate several predominantly-white schools. The desegregation plan became the focal point for candidates' campaigns during the fall 1987 School Committee and City Council elections. Fueled by Kouloheras' racist, English-Only rhetoric, anti-Latino and anti-Asian sentiment escalated throughout the summer.

On September 15th, one week after school re-opened amidst widespread bitterness and confusion over the busing plan, an 11-year old white student accosted Vandy Phorng, a 13-year old Cambodian bilingual student while Vandy and his brothers were walking along the canal near their home. After making racial comments about Vandy's background, the white youth punched Vandy in the face, dragged him down a flight of stairs to the canal and pushed Vandy into the water. Vandy was carried away by the strong current, and later drowned. The father of the white boy charged with killing Vandy Phorng was a former boxing champion and, like Kouloheras, an outspoken advocate for the English-Only movement in Lowell.[15]

Vandy Phorng's tragic death in Lowell was ironic yet predictable. Like the killings of five Southeast Asian children at the Cleveland Elementary School in Stockton, California[16], the tragedy of Vandy's murder was cruelly ironic because Southeast Asian refugees have escaped so much war and death in their home countries. The children are their hopes for the future -- they are not supposed to die from war and violence here. Yet, given the challenge of Lowell's changing demographics and the climate of anti-minority, anti-immigrant sentiment promoted by English-Only advocates and ideologues who include some of the city's most influential political leaders and elected representatives, racial violence as exemplified by the killing

of Vandy Phorng was predictable and, perhaps more importantly, preventable.

Political Representation and Political Power

> We need to protect the civil liberties of the majority...let them take the minorities and do what they want with them.
>
> -- George Kouloheras
> Lowell School Committee
> on election night, 1987

The death of Vandy Phorng gave little pause to the anti-immigrant campaign of Kouloheras and others who rode its bandwagon to victory in the October 1987 primaries and November city elections. In the School Committee election, Kouloheras was the top vote-getter while his protege, Kathryn Stoklosa, came in second. Sean Sullivan, a first-time candidate whose campaign focused exclusively in opposition to "forced busing" was also elected, while George O'Hare, a longtime incumbent who supported the busing plan was defeated. The struggle surrounding the schools also affected the City Council race as Tarsy Poulios, a vehement opponent of the desegregation plan, received the third highest vote total because, according to a former Lowell City Manager, "he got every hate vote out there".[17]

For the Southeast Asian and Latino parents, the election reinforced what they had begun to recognize -- in spite of their significant and growing numbers, they had no political representation or even influence within the city's institutions. The only Hispanic in City Hall, for example, as many community leaders were quick to point out, was a gardener.[18]

In the months following the city elections, the parents continued to press their case forward -- united around their common interests and their vision of educational reform. The working relationships they had developed within MAMA continued off and on for the next year as their lawsuit

against the city slowly made progress. Finally, in a tremendous victory in November 1988, the Lowell School Committee accepted most of the parents' demands for reform and agreed to an out-of-court settlement of the lawsuit. During that period, Alex Huertas, the most visible leader of the parents, decided the time had come for a minority to run for office in Lowell.

Education and Empowerment

> The lack of Latino and Asian representation has made our struggle harder. In next year's elections, we need to promote our own candidates.
>
> -- Alex Huertas
> PUEDO[19]

Lowell is a city of 100,000 residents, but only 40,000 voters. The overwhelming majority of Southeast Asians and Latinos are not registered, and many are not citizens. Numerically, however, they account for roughly 45% of the city's population, and are continuing to grow. Successful candidates in Lowell elections typically receive less than 10,000 votes. George Kouloheras, the top vote-getter in the 1987 School Committee race, for example, received only 8,400 votes. Although not a factor in the most recent election, the political potential of both the Latino and Cambodian vote seems exceptional in this context.

It is useful to remember that in 1854, when the city's population was nearly one-third foreign-born, the mayor was elected based on a "Know-Nothing" anti-Irish, anti-immigrant platform. Later waves of European newcomers continued to face resentment, exclusion, and exploitation characteristic of the immigrant experience in New England.

Yet, eventually each group achieved some measure of representation and political power. As early as 1874, with nearly 40% of the population being immigrants, Samuel P. Marin became the first French-Canadian to win elected office in Lowell. Under his leadership, the ethnic "Little

Canada" community grew and thrived. By the 1950's, most of Lowell's ethnic groups, including the English, Irish, Greeks, and Poles had succeeded in electing their "favorite sons" to the Mayor's Office and had won basic political representation within the city.

Will the newest immigrant groups of Latinos and Southeast Asians follow this same historical pattern of European ethnics' structural assimilation into the social, economic, and political mainstream of Lowell? Time will tell. One might argue, however, that the current state of disenfranchisement for Latinos and Asians reflects their status as urban racial minorities as much as it does their being new immigrants. In sharp contrast to the European immigrant experience, the status of Latinos and Asians as racial minorities presents a basic structural barrier which restricts not only their own but their succeeding generations' full participation in society. Recognition of their own minority group membership, in fact, may be essential if they are to strengthen their organizations, develop leadership, promote consciousness, and build coalitions within and between the Southeast Asian and Latino communities which can lead toward empowerment.

Schools, Southeast Asians, and the Future of Lowell

> The Puerto Ricans...it's so easy for them to get up and yell, "WE WANT THIS!" For us, we hide our faces and whisper to ourselves, "we want this" ... But give us a couple more years, we're still learning.
>
> -- Sommanee Bounphasaysonh
> Laotian Association of
> Greater Lowell[20]

Schools have historically served as sites of struggle by minorities and immigrants for access, equity, and democratic reforms. Such landmarks in U.S. legal history as the Lau case and Brown vs. Board of Education testify to the significance of the fight for educational rights.

Furthermore, for immigrant and refugee parents who have sacrificed their own lives and dreams in order to give their children opportunities for security and social mobility, the schools often represent their single most important investment in this country.

As cities undergo shifts in their ethnic and racial make-up, the schools quickly emerge as one major arena, and often as the initial battleground, where contradictory agendas unfold based on conflicting relations and responses to the demographic changes.[21]

Anti-immigrant sentiment, racial harassment, and English-Only advocacy characterize one set of responses to the challenge of changing demographics currently facing many American cities. These reactions, framed by struggles over turf and the interests of a shifting electorate, lead to divisiveness and segregation as in the case of the Lowell Public Schools. Typically, this leads to violence and tragedy like the killing of 11-year old Vandy Phorng.

An alternative set of responses, however, recognizes that when a city's population changes, the city's institutions must also change in order to reflect the needs and interests of its people. An example of this basic demand for access and equity has been crafted by Latino and Southeast Asian parents seeking educational reform in Lowell. Typically, however, this approach meets resistance, if not overt hostility, and leads directly to the demand for political representation and political power as exemplified in the initiation of Alex Huertas' campaign for City Council.

Alex Huertas withdrew from the City Council race in Spring 1989 due to family responsibilities. By taking that initial step in declaring that minorities should run for political office, however, Huertas and Lowell's Latino parents made their intentions and aspirations clear. Although it is difficult to know whether or not the Lao and Cambodian parents would have felt sufficiently inspired to mobilize their communities and participate actively in the elections if Alex Huertas had stayed in the 1989 City Council race, it is, nevertheless, clear that empowerment is on the agenda of Southeast Asian and Latino parents in

Lowell. While the Latino parents have clearly set the tone for the movement thus far, the Southeast Asian parents are learning quickly through the process. A Cambodian community activist, Sambath Chey Fennell, in fact, considered running for school committee in 1989, and will likely run in 1991 -- perhaps becoming the first Cambodian American elected official in the country.

The city's political dynamics, however, are fluid and volatile. With the Massachusetts economy facing recession and companies like Wang Laboratories, the foundation of Lowell's economic infrastructure, having laid off more than 6,000 employees in 1989, social conditions are becoming more polarized. In November 1989, Lowell's electorate voted on a non-binding referendum introduced by George Kouloheras to declare English the official language of the city. The English-Only referendum passed by a wide 72% to 28% margin with 14,575 votes for and 5,679 votes against.[22] While more research is needed to analyze the meaning as well as the consequences of the English-Only referendum vote, the message to minority and immigrant residents, for the time being, seems clear and chilling.

As a case study illustrating the challenge of changing demographics, the story of Lowell is unresolved. The three-to-one referendum vote for English-Only in Lowell undoubtedly reflects popular opposition to those demographic changes, but, in many ways, it is too late. The city's transformation is already in progress. In time, Cambodians, who represent the largest minority group in the city with a population approaching 25% of the total, will have an especially critical role to play in determining the future of Lowell. The Latino and Southeast Asian parents' successful eighteen-month struggle for access and equity in the Lowell Public Schools represents the first step in an ongoing process of organizing and coalition-building that may eventually lead not only to the defeat of the city's anti-immigrant, English Only forces but to the election of Cambodian and Latino candidates to city office and to the eventual empowerment of the Southeast and Latino communities. Perhaps then, Lowell will rightfully be considered a "model city" in a "Massachusetts miracle".

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2. Kevin Cullen, "Lowell: the dark side of the boom", The Boston Globe, October 25, 1987.

3. Cullen, 1987.

4. John Wilke, "Wang had key role in Lowell's economic revival", The Boston Globe, November 9, 1987.

5. Throughout 1988-89, however, Wang Laboratories has faced severe economic difficulties, leading to lay-offs of thousands of employees, drops in quarterly earnings and stock prices, and resignations of many managers, including An Wang's son, Frederick. The socio-economic impact of Wang's difficulties on the city of Lowell needs further study.

6. Quoted in Doris Sue Wong, "Lowell is seen not fulfilling its promise for Asians, Hispanics", The Boston Globe, November 3, 1987.

7. Alex Huertas, personal interview, June 11, 1987.

8. Sommanee Bounphasaysonh, personal interview, June 11, 1987.

9. Hispanic Parents Advisory Council, et al, Complaint, U.S. District Court District of Massachusetts, Civil Action No. 87-1968 K.

10. META Inc., letter to Lowell School Committee, May 21, 1987.

11. The settlement was approved by the court in February 1989, and did not include monetary compensation for educational harms, although $80,000 in attorneys' fees and costs of $5,000 were awarded eventually in November 1989.

12. George Kouloheras, quoted from Lowell School Committee meeting, June 3, 1987.

13. Diego Ribadeneira, "School panelist in Lowell is accused of racism", The Boston Globe, May 8, 1987.

14. Doris Sue Wong, "Lowell is seen not fulfilling promise for many Asians, Hispanics", The Boston Globe, November 3, 1987.

15. See Doris Sue Wong, "Day of fishing ends in violent death for Lowell boy", The Boston Globe, September 23, 1987 and L. Kim Tan, "Family demands justice in teen's slaying", The Boston Herald, September 23, 1987 and L. Kim Tan, "Police defend arrest of boy", The Boston Herald, September 24, 1987.

16. On January 17, 1989, Patrick Purdy fired over 100 shots from an automatic assault rifle into the Cleveland Elementary School yard -- killing five Cambodian and Vietnamese children. Witnesses observed that Purdy had aimed specifically at Southeast Asian children before firing. An investigation by California state Attorney General John Van de Kamp, concluded in an October 1989 report that, "Purdy attacked Southeast Asian immigrants out of a festering sense of racial resentment and hatred". The report also noted that Purdy, according to his half-brother, often confronted people speaking a foreign language and told them to speak English in America (see Asian Week, October 13, 1989).

17. see Andrew J. Dabilis, "Lowell desegregation opponents fare well in school, council races", The Boston Globe, October 7, 1987 and election coverage in The Lowell Sun, November 4, 1987.

18. Doris Sue Wong, "Lowell is seen not fulfilling its promise for many Asians, Hispanics", The Boston Globe, November 3, 1987.

19. Alex Huertas, personal interview, June 11, 1987.

20. Sommanee Bounphasaysonh, personal interview, June 11, 1987.

21. See, for example, New Voices: Immigrant Students in U.S. Public Schools, Boston: National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988 or Camilo Perez-Bustillo and Javier Colon-Morera, "What Happens When English Only Comes to Town?: A Comparative Study of Four Cities in California and Massachusetts, 1984-1989", unpublished paper, 1989.

22. Jules Crittendon, "English referendum passes nearly 3 to 1", Lowell Sun, November 8, 1989.

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